

41.3!  
S. PUB. 105-8



# THE UNITED STATES SENATE

One Hundred Fifth Congress

1997 • 1999



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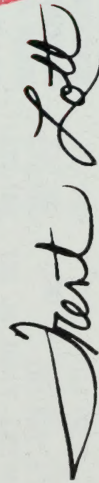
## WELCOME TO THE UNITED STATES SENATE

As the Floor Leaders of the United States Senate, we are pleased to welcome you to the chamber that has served as the Senate's meeting place since 1859. Not long ago, the Senate commemorated the bicentennial of its first meeting in April 1789. By its continuity over the centuries, the United States Congress has vindicated the framers of our Constitution and affirmed their faith that their great experiment in representative democracy would endure.

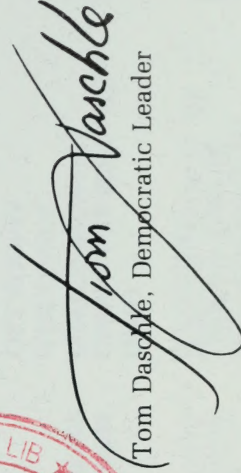
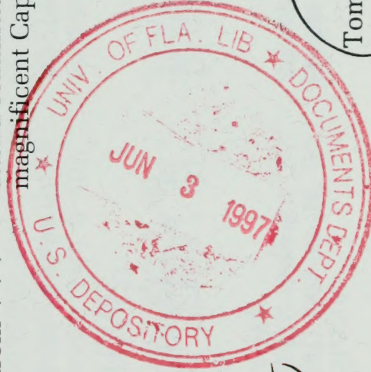
Our Constitution created a system of checks and balances between the separate Legislative, Executive and Judicial branches of the federal government. In the Legislative branch, the Senate represents each of the states equally, while the House represents them according to the size of their respective populations. Each state has two senators, who will be referred to in debate as "the senior senator from . . ." and "the junior senator from . . ." depending on their length of service.

The Constitution assigns specific powers and responsibilities to Congress to enact legislation necessary to provide for the common defense and the general welfare of the United States. It gives the Senate exclusive authority to advise and consent on all nominations and treaties. Most important, the Senate provides a forum where senators, elected by the people, can debate the great issues of our day, and forge the laws under which this Nation operates.

Although its purpose is not always apparent, each legislative procedure, each action, each debate, plays a role in the legislative process. Even the architectural and artistic features of the chamber represent various stages of development in the Senate's two centuries of history. This booklet is designed as a brief introduction to the workings of the Senate. In addition to your visit to the Senate chamber, we would like you to visit your senators' offices, to attend committee hearings, and to take a guided tour of the magnificent Capitol Building.



Trent Lott, Majority Leader



Tom Daschle, Democratic Leader

FLARE

## SENATORS BY STATE

### Vice President

GORE, Al  
**ALABAMA**  
SHELBY, Richard C. (R) . . . . SH-110  
SESSIONS, Jeff (R) . . . . . SR-495

**ALASKA**  
STEVENS, Ted (R) . . . . . SH-522  
MURKOWSKI, Frank H. (R) . SH-322

**ARIZONA**  
McCAIN, John (R) . . . . . SR-241  
KYL, Jon (R) . . . . . SH-724

**ARKANSAS**  
BUMPERS, Dale (D) . . . . . SD-229  
HUTCHINSON, Tim (R) . . . . SD-245

**CALIFORNIA**  
FEINSTEIN, Dianne (D) . . . . SH-331  
BOXER, Barbara (D) . . . . . SH-112

**COLORADO**  
CAMPBELL, Ben Nighthorse (R) SR-380  
ALLARD, Wayne (R) . . . . . SH-513

**CONNECTICUT**  
DODD, Christopher J. (D) . . . SR-444  
LIEBERMAN, Joseph I. (D) . . SH-706

**DELAWARE**  
ROTH, William V., Jr. (R) . . . SH-104  
BIDEN, Joseph R., Jr. (D) . . . SR-221

### KENTUCKY

FORD, Wendell H. (D) . . . . . SR173A  
McCONNELL, Mitch (R) . . . . SR361A

### LOUISIANA

BREAUX, John B. (D) . . . . . SH-516  
LANDRIEU, Mary (D) . . . . . SH-702

### MAINE

SNOWE, Olympia J. (R) . . . . SR-250  
COLLINS, Susan M. (R) . . . . SR-170

### MARYLAND

SARBANES, Paul S. (D) . . . . SH-309  
MIKULSKI, Barbara (D) . . . . SH-709

### MASSACHUSETTS

KENNEDY, Edward M. (D) . . SR-315  
KERRY, John F. (D) . . . . . SR-421

### MICHIGAN

LEVIN, Carl M. (D) . . . . . SR-459  
ABRAHAM, Spencer (R) . . . . SD-329

### MINNESOTA

WELLSTONE, Paul (D) . . . . . SH-136  
GRAMS, Rod (R) . . . . . SD-261

### MISSISSIPPI

COCHRAN, Thad (R) . . . . . SR-326  
LOTT, Trent (R) . . . . . SR-487

### MISSOURI

BOND, Christopher S. (R) . . . SR-274  
ASHCROFT, John (R) . . . . . SH-316

## Senators and Office Suite Numbers

### NORTH DAKOTA

CONRAD, Kent (D) . . . . . SH-530  
DORGAN, Byron L. (D) . . . . SH-713

### OHIO

GLENN, John H., Jr. (D) . . . . SH-503  
DeWINE, Mike (R) . . . . . SR-140

### OKLAHOMA

NICKLES, Don (R) . . . . . SH-133  
INHOFE, James M. (R) . . . . SR-453

### OREGON

WYDEN, Ron (D) . . . . . SH-717  
SMITH, Gordon (R) . . . . . SD-359

### PENNSYLVANIA

SPECTER, Arlen (R) . . . . . SH-711  
SANTORUM, Rick (R) . . . . . SR-120

### RHODE ISLAND

CHAFEE, John H. (R) . . . . . SD-505  
REED, Jack (D) . . . . . SH-320

### SOUTH CAROLINA

THURMOND, Strom (R) . . . . SR-217  
HOLLINGS, Ernest F. (D) . . . SR-125

### SOUTH DAKOTA

DASCHLE, Thomas A. (D) . . . SH-509  
JOHNSON, Tim (D) . . . . . SH-502

### TENNESSEE

THOMPSON, Fred (R) . . . . . SD-523  
FRIST, William H. (R) . . . . . SD-565



**FLORIDA**

GRAHAM, Bob (D) ..... SH-524  
 MACK, Connie (R) ..... SH-517

**GEORGIA**

COVERDELL, Paul (R) ..... SR-200  
 CLELAND, Max (D) ..... SD-461

**HAWAII**

INOUE, Daniel K. (D) ..... SH-722  
 AKAKA, Daniel K. (D) ..... SH-720

**IDAHO**

CRAIG, Larry E. (R) ..... SH-313  
 KEMPTHORNE, Dirk (R) ..... SR-304

**ILLINOIS**

MOSELEY-BRAUN, Carol (D) . SH-324  
 DURBIN, Richard J. (D) ..... SR-364

**INDIANA**

LUGAR, Richard G. (R) ..... SH-306  
 COATS, Dan (R) ..... SR-404

**IOWA**

GRASSLEY, Charles E. (R) .. SH-135  
 HARKIN, TOM (D) ..... SH-731

**KANSAS**

BROWNBACK, Sam (R) ..... SH-303  
 ROBERTS, Pat (R) ..... SH-302

**MONTANA**

BAUCUS, Max (D) ..... SH-511  
 BURNS, Conrad (R) ..... SD-187

**NEBRASKA**

KERREY, J. Robert (D) ..... SH-141  
 HAGEL, Chuck (R) ..... SR-346

**NEVADA**

REID, Harry (D) ..... SH-528  
 BRYAN, Richard (D) ..... SR-269

**NEW HAMPSHIRE**

SMITH, Bob (R) ..... SD-307  
 GREGG, Judd (R) ..... SR-393

**NEW JERSEY**

LAUTENBERG, Frank R. (D) SH-506  
 TORRICELLI, Robert G. (D) .. SD-113

**NEW MEXICO**

DOMENICI, Pete V. (R) ..... SH-328  
 BINGAMAN, Jeff (D) ..... SH-703

**NEW YORK**

MOYNIHAN, Daniel P. (D) .. SR-464  
 D'AMATO, Alfonse M. (R) .. SH-520

**NORTH CAROLINA**

HELMS, Jesse (R) ..... SD-403  
 FAIRCLOTH, Lauch (R) .... SH-317

**TEXAS**

GRAMM, Phil (R) ..... SR-370  
 HUTCHISON, Kay Bailey (R) SR-283

**UTAH**

HATCH, Orrin G. (R) ..... SR-131  
 BENNETT, Robert F. (R) .... SD-431

**VERMONT**

LEAHY, Patrick J. (D) ..... SR-433  
 JEFFORDS, James M. (R) ... SH-728

**VIRGINIA**

WARNER, John W. (R) ..... SR-225  
 ROBB, Charles S. (D) ..... SR-154

**WASHINGTON**

GORTON, Slade (R) ..... SH-730  
 MURRAY, Patty (D) ..... SR-111

**WEST VIRGINIA**

BYRD, Robert C. (D) ..... SH-311  
 ROCKEFELLER, John D., IV (D) SH-531

**WISCONSIN**

KOHL, Herb (D) ..... SH-330  
 FEINGOLD, Russell D. (D) .. SH-716

**WYOMING**

THOMAS, Craig (R) ..... SH-109  
 ENZI, Michael B. (R) ..... SR-288



## HISTORY OF THE SENATE

The two houses of Congress resulted from the “Great Compromise” between large and small states reached at the Constitutional Convention in 1787. Membership of the House of Representatives is apportioned according to a state’s population, while in the Senate each state has equal representation.

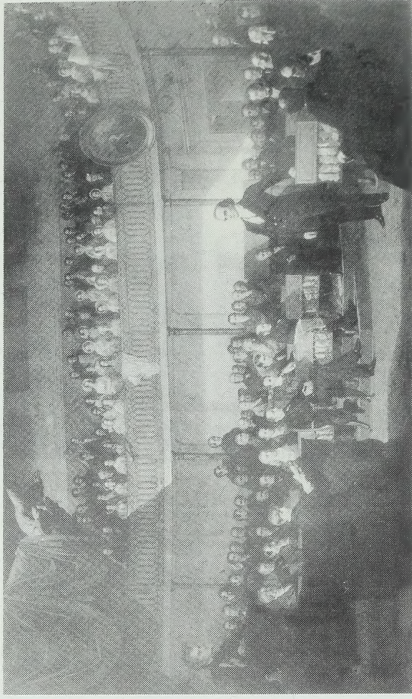
The Constitution assigns the Senate and House equal responsibility for declaring war, maintaining the armed forces, assessing taxes, borrowing money, minting currency, regulating commerce, and making all laws necessary for the operation of the government. The Senate holds exclusive authority to advise and consent on treaties and nominations.

The Constitution requires that senators be at least thirty years of age, citizens of the United States, and residents of the states from which they are chosen. Originally, the Constitution also provided that state legislatures would elect senators, but in 1913 the Seventeenth Amendment established direct election of senators by the people.

While the House in 1789 immediately opened its doors to the public, the Senate conducted its business in secret session for the first few years, when it met in New York and Philadelphia. Senators expected that they would act primarily as an advisory council to the president, and as a senior body perfecting, by amendment, legislation that came up from the House. However, public pressure encouraged the Senate to construct a visitors gallery, which opened in 1795. In 1800, when the federal government moved from Philadelphia to the newly created District of Columbia, both the House and Senate chambers provided public galleries.

By the 1830’s, the Senate had attracted the nation’s leading political figures and most gifted orators. Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and other towering figures made the old Senate chamber the chief forum for debating the great national issues of the day. The French observer Alexis de Tocqueville described the Senate he

visited as a body of “eloquent advocates, distinguished generals, wise magistrates and statesmen of note, whose language would at times do honor to the most remarkable parliamentary debates in Europe.”



Senator Daniel Webster addressing the Senate, January 1830

During the 1830’s the Senate tackled the issues of federal authority versus states’ rights, and the spread of slavery into the territories. Valiant efforts to achieve compromise eventually failed, and the nation split apart in a bloody Civil War. Southern members resigned from the Senate as their states seceded, and the new Republican party became the majority of the sharply reduced Senate in 1861, just after it had moved into its spacious new chamber in 1859. Following the war, those senators who favored vigorous reconstruction of the Southern states clashed frequently with President Andrew Johnson, who adopted Abraham Lincoln’s more lenient policies. Their clashes culminated in the impeachment trial of President Johnson, in the Senate chamber, where the President escaped removal from office by a single vote.



A series of weak presidents followed Johnson throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century, allowing the Senate to become the strongest branch of the federal government. Senators argued that the executive should be subordinate to the legislature, and that the president's sole role was to enforce the laws enacted by Congress. By the beginning of the twentieth century, the energetic presidencies of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson challenged senatorial dominance, and the balance of power shifted toward the White House. Still, the Senate delivered Wilson a major blow at the end of his presidency by rejecting the Treaty of Versailles, which ended the First World War and created the League of Nations.

At the depths of the Great Depression of the 1930's, the Senate responded enthusiastically to President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program of recovery, relief, and reform. An unprecedented burst of legislative activity profoundly altered the size, shape and scope of the federal government.



The Senate in session during the 1930's

By 1937, the Senate had broken with President Roosevelt over his proposal to "pack" the Supreme Court, and strong isolationist sentiments limited Roosevelt's international policies. The attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, however, brought a sharp shift in public opinion, and senators rallied behind the war effort. The slogan that "politics stops at the water's edge" expressed the new spirit of bipartisanship in American foreign policy.

A major turning point in the Senate's history occurred with the passage of the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act, which reshaped the committee system and provided the first professional staff for senators and committees. The Cold War brought an increase in legislation, with the expansion of the national defense program, foreign aid, and economic and military assistance to America's allies.

During the 1950's the Senate engaged in sharp debates over civil rights policies, which stimulated lengthy filibusters, but which eventually resulted in passage of the landmark Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Senate also divided over American involvement in the war in Vietnam. Although senators overwhelmingly approved the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964, they later disagreed over its application, and voted for its repeal. Senate concern over increased presidential powers in foreign affairs led to the passage of the War Powers Act of 1973, requiring Congressional notification and approval whenever American troops are sent into combat.

The Watergate burglary and irregularities of the presidential campaign in 1972 led to a Senate investigation chaired by Senator Sam Ervin of North Carolina. Testimony and evidence gathered by Ervin's committee eventually led to the resignation of Richard Nixon as president. Subsequently the Senate has striven to maintain a balance with the presidency, supporting presidential initiatives while maintaining vigilant oversight over the operations of the executive branch. This is the system of checks and balances which the framers of the Constitution had envisioned, and which has endured for over two hundred years of American representative democracy.



**AL GORE, Vice President of the United States and President of the Senate**  
**STROM THURMOND, President pro tempore**  
**TRENT LOTT, Majority Leader**  
**TOM DASCHLE, Democratic Leader**  
**DON NICKLES, Assistant Majority Leader**  
**WENDELL H. FORD, Democratic Whip**

Gary L. Sisco, *Secretary of the Senate*  
 Gregory S. Casey, *Sergeant-at-Arms*  
 Elizabeth B. Greene, *Secretary for the Majority*  
 Martin P. Paone, *Secretary for the Minority*  
 Sharon A. Zelaska, *Assistant Secretary of the Senate*  
 Loretta Symms, *Deputy Sergeant-at-Arms*  
 David J. Schiappa, *Assistant Secretary for the Majority*  
 Lula J. Davis, *Assistant Secretary for the Minority*  
 Robert B. Dove, *Parliamentarian*  
 R. Scott Bates, *Legislative Clerk*  
 William D. Lackey, Jr., *Journal Clerk*  
 Rev. Lloyd J. Ogilvie, *Chaplain*

REPUBLICANS IN ROMAN (55) DEMOCRATS IN ITALIC (45) Total 100

- Abraham, Spencer, Michigan, 1  
 Akaka, Daniel, Hawaii, 94  
 Allard, Wayne, Colorado, 17  
 Ashcroft, John, Missouri, 2  
 Baucus, Max, Montana, 58  
 Bennett, Robert F., Utah, 83  
 Biden, Joseph R., Jr., Delaware, 91  
 Bingaman, Jeff, New Mexico, 57  
 Bond, Christopher S., Missouri, 45  
 Boxer, Barbara, California, 36  
 Breaux, John B., Louisiana, 87  
 Brownback, Sam, Kansas, 71  
 Bryan, Richard H., Nevada, 92  
 Bumpers, Dale, Arkansas, 96  
 Burns, Conrad, Montana, 20  
 Byrd, Robert C., West Virginia, 29  
 Campbell, Ben Nighthorse, Colorado, 79  
 Chafee, John H., Rhode Island, 51  
 Cleland, Max, Georgia, 97  
 Coats, Dan, Indiana, 76  
 Cochran, Thad, Mississippi, 24  
 Collins, Susan M., Maine, 69  
 Conrad, Kent, North Dakota, 13  
 Coverdell, Paul, Georgia, 84  
 Craig, Larry E., Idaho, 80  
 D'Amato, Alfonse M., New York, 53  
 Daschle, Thomas A., South Dakota, 9  
 DeWine, Mike, Ohio, 18  
 Dodd, Christopher J., Connecticut, 30  
 Domenici, Pete V., New Mexico, 26  
 Dorgan, Byron L., North Dakota, 65  
 Durbin, Richard J., Illinois, 67  
 Enzi, Michael B., Wyoming, 68  
 Faircloth, Lauch, North Carolina, 46  
 Feingold, Russell D., Wisconsin, 98  
 Feinstein, Dianne, California, 62  
 Ford, Wendell H., Kentucky, 10  
 Frist, William H., Tennessee, 42  
 Glenn, John, Ohio, 59  
 Gorton, Slade, Washington, 77  
 Graham, Bob, Florida, 64  
 Gramm, Phil, Texas, 21  
 Grams, Rod, Minnesota, 72  
 Grassley, Charles E., Iowa, 5  
 Gregg, Judd, New Hampshire, 4  
 Hagel, Chuck, Nebraska, 16  
 Harkin, Tom, Iowa, 89  
 Hatch, Orrin G., Utah, 54  
 Helms, Jesse, North Carolina, 50  
 Hollings, Ernest F., South Carolina, 90  
 Hutchinson, Tim, Arkansas, 70  
 Hutchison, Kay Bailey, Texas, 3  
 Inhofe, James M., Oklahoma, 81  
 Inouye, Daniel K., Hawaii, 55  
 Jeffords, James M., Vermont, 82  
 Johnson, Tim, South Dakota, 99  
 Kempthorne, Dirk, Idaho, 44  
 Kennedy, Edward M., Massachusetts, 95  
 Kerrey, J. Robert, Nebraska, 35  
 Kerry, John F., Massachusetts, 60  
 Kohl, Herb, Wisconsin, 93  
 Kyl, Jon, Arizona, 19  
 Landrieu, Mary L., Louisiana, 15  
 Lautenberg, Frank R., New Jersey, 56  
 Leahy, Patrick J., Vermont, 31  
 Levin, Carl, Michigan, 11  
 Lieberman, Joseph I., Connecticut, 61  
 Lott, Trent, Mississippi, 8  
 Lugar, Richard G., Indiana, 78  
 Mack, Connie, Florida, 48  
 McCain, John, Arizona, 49  
 McConnell, Mitch, Kentucky, 22  
 Mikulski, Barbara A., Maryland, 63  
 Moseley-Braun, Carol, Illinois, 14  
 Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, New York, 86  
 Murkowski, Frank H., Alaska, 23  
 Murray, Patty, Washington, 37  
 Nickles, Don, Oklahoma, 7  
 Reed, Jack, Rhode Island, 100  
 Reid, Harry, Nevada, 33  
 Robb, Charles S., Virginia, 34  
 Roberts, Pat, Kansas, 41  
 Rockefeller, John D., IV, West Virginia, 88  
 Roth, William V., Jr., Delaware, 27  
 Santorum, Rick, Pennsylvania, 73  
 Sarbanes, Paul S., Maryland, 32  
 Sessions, Jeff, Alabama, 39  
 Shelby, Richard C., Alabama, 85  
 Smith, Bob, New Hampshire, 47  
 Smith, Gordon, Oregon, 40  
 Snowe, Olympia J., Maine, 75  
 Specter, Arlen, Pennsylvania, 52  
 Stevens, Ted, Alaska, 28  
 Thomas, Craig, Wyoming, 43  
 Thompson, Fred, Tennessee, 74  
 Thurmond, Strom, South Carolina, 6  
 Torricelli, Robert G., New Jersey, 38  
 Warner, John W., Virginia, 25  
 Wellstone, Paul D., Minnesota, 12  
 Wyden, Ron, Oregon, 66



# SEATING ARRANGEMENT IN THE SENATE CHAMBER

As of Feb. 24, 1997

DAVIS  
Assistant  
Minority  
Secretary

PIAHOE  
Minority  
Secretary

GREENE  
Majority  
Secretary

SCHAPPA  
Majority  
Secretary

100 REED RI  
99 JOHNSON SD  
98 FEINGOLD WI  
97 CLELAND GA

67 DURBIN IL  
66 WYDEN OR  
65 DORGAN IND

38 TORRICELLI NJ  
37 MURRAY WA  
36 BOXER CA

15 LANDRIEU LA  
14 MOSELEY-BRAIN IL

33 GARDAM FL  
32 HINDS MD  
31 KENNEDY MA  
30 KOLH HI  
29 BRYAN NV  
28 BRYAN NV  
27 KERRY MA  
26 GLENN OH  
25 HOLLINGS SC  
24 BROWN DE  
23 BROWN DE  
22 KERRY MA  
21 SARGANS MD  
20 SARGANS MD  
19 LEVIN MI  
18 BELMONT NH  
17 CORRAD MD  
16 CORRAD MD

35 KERRY ME  
34 ROBB VA  
33 NEID NV  
32 SARGANS MD  
31 NEID NV  
30 KERRY MA  
29 GLENN OH  
28 BROWN DE  
27 KERRY MA  
26 GLENN OH  
25 HOLLINGS SC  
24 BROWN DE  
23 BROWN DE  
22 KERRY MA  
21 SARGANS MD  
20 SARGANS MD  
19 LEVIN MI  
18 BELMONT NH  
17 CORRAD MD  
16 CORRAD MD

68 ENZI WY  
69 COLLINS ME  
70 HUTCHINSON AR  
71 BROWNBACK KS  
72 GRAMS MN  
73 SANTORUM PA

39 SESSIONS AL  
40 SMITH G OR  
41 ROBERTS KS  
42 FRIST TN  
43 THOMAS WY  
44 KEMPTHORNE ID  
45 BOND MD  
46 FAIRCLOTH NC  
47 SMITH B NH  
48 MACK FL  
49 MCCAIN AZ  
50 HELMS NC  
51 CHAFFE RI  
52 SPECTER PA  
53 D'AMATO NY  
54 HATCH UT  
55 INOUYE HI  
56 LAUTENBERG NJ  
57 BINGAMAN NM  
58 BAUCUS MT  
59 GLENN OH  
60 KERRY MA  
61 LIBERMAN CT  
62 FEINSTEIN CA  
63 HINDS MD  
64 GARDAM FL  
65 DORGAN IND  
66 WYDEN OR  
67 DURBIN IL  
68 ENZI WY  
69 COLLINS ME  
70 HUTCHINSON AR  
71 BROWNBACK KS  
72 GRAMS MN  
73 SANTORUM PA

16 HAGEL NE  
17 ALLARD CO  
18 DEWINE OH  
19 KYL AZ  
20 BURNS MT  
21 GRAMM TX  
22 MCCONNELL RI  
23 MURKOWSKI AK  
24 COCHRAN MS  
25 WARNER VA  
26 DOMENICI NM  
27 ROTH DE  
28 STEVENS AK  
29 BYRD WV  
30 DODD CT  
31 LEAHY VT  
32 SARGANS MD  
33 NEID NV  
34 ROBB VA  
35 KERRY ME  
36 BOXER CA  
37 MURRAY WA  
38 TORRICELLI NJ  
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73 SANTORUM PA

1 ABRAHAM NH  
2 ASHCROFT MD  
3 HUTCHISON TX  
4 OREGG NH  
5 GRASSLEY IA  
6 THURMOND SC  
7 NICKLES OK  
8 LOTT MS  
9 DASCHLE SD  
10 FORD KY  
11 LEVIN MI  
12 BELMONT NH  
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72 GRAMS MN  
73 SANTORUM PA

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8 LOTT MS  
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Official

Reporters

Democratic Whip

Majority Leader

Minority Whip

Assistant Secretary

Legislative Clerk

Parliamentarian

Journal Clerk

Vice President of the United States

Sergeant at Arms

Assistant Secretary

Majority Secretary

Minority Secretary

Secretary of Senate

DEMOCRATS

REPUBLICANS

NOTICE TO VISITORS  
Demonstrations of approval or disapproval by occupants of the galleries are strictly forbidden by a rule of the Senate.



## THE CHAMBER AS YOU SEE IT

The Senate has occupied its current chamber since January 1859. On that occasion, senators proceeded down the corridor from the smaller chamber that had served as their meeting place for nearly a half century. The Old Senate Chamber has been restored to its 1859 appearance and is open to the public.

The addition of many new states to the Union during the mid-nineteenth century required construction of larger chambers for both the House and the Senate. These new chambers also provided vastly expanded galleries for the public and the press. The press galleries, which are immediately above the presiding officer's chair, accommodate reporters from newspapers, magazines, radio and television. Other galleries have been set aside for the diplomatic corps, for members' families, and for staff.

The first twenty-one busts lining the walls at the gallery level represent all vice presidents from John Adams to Thomas Hendricks, with the exception of Henry Wilson, whose bust is located in the Vice President's Room, where he died. These busts pay tribute to the vice president's role as president of the Senate. Busts of later vice presidents are located at various points outside the chamber.

Arranged below the galleries, in a semicircular pattern, are one hundred desks—one for each senator. Forty-eight of these desks date back to 1819, when they were purchased following the fire that badly damaged the Capitol and its furnishings. Over the years, as new states have joined the Union, matching desks have been added to the chamber, the most recent for Hawaii in 1959. Each desk has an ink well and a sand shaker for blotting ink. Starting in the 1830's, a writing box was affixed to the top of each desk to provide more space for members. Senator Daniel Webster reportedly refused to have his desk altered, reasoning that if his predecessors had done without the additional space, so could he. Assigned to the senior senator

from New Hampshire, Webster's desk remains the only one in the chamber without a writing box.

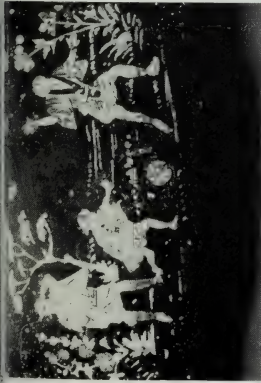
The custom of dividing Senate seating by party goes back to the creation of political parties in the United States, but has not always been rigidly followed. In the Old Senate Chamber an equal number of desks were placed on each side of the center aisle, requiring a few members to sit across from the rest of their party. Since 1877, however, the practice has developed of moving desks back and forth across the aisle to permit all members of each party to sit on the appropriate side. The two large roll-top desks at the front of the chamber are reserved for the official party secretaries.

Unobtrusively located on ledges directly behind the presiding officer's rostrum are two small lacquer snuffboxes, relics of an earlier age when senators dipped snuff during their debates. Although no longer used, the snuffboxes are always kept filled. Spittoons at various locations are other reminders of the Senate's past.

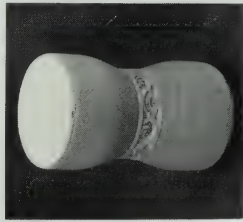
The solid ivory gavel now used by the presiding officer was presented to the Senate in 1954 by the Vice President of India as a token of his country's friendship. The previously used gavel, yellowed and cracked, occupies a place of honor on the rostrum when the Senate is in session. According to tradition, that gavel, of ivory capped with silver, had been used in the Senate since its first meeting in 1789.

A series of inscriptions appears around the chamber. Over the presiding officer's desk is the motto *E Pluribus Unum* (One Out Of Many). Above the doors are: *Annuit Coeptis* (God Has Favored Our Undertakings) over the east entrance; *Novus Ordo Seclorum* (A New Order of the Ages) over the west entrance; and our national motto, *In God We Trust*, over the south-central entrance.





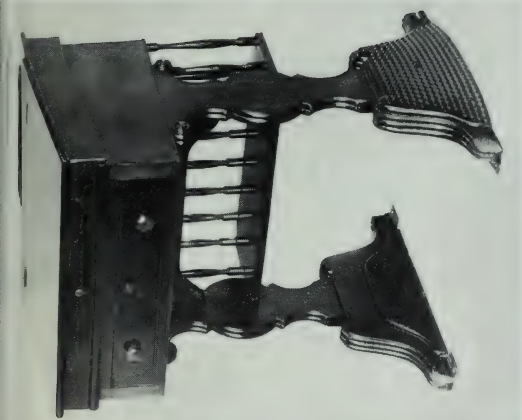
The Senate snuffbox



The Presiding Officer's gavel



Inscription in the Senate Chamber



A Senate desk

## THE SENATE IN SESSION

The ringing of bells throughout the Capitol and the three Senate Office Buildings signals the opening of a day's session and announces votes, quorum calls, and other legislative activities. The bells correspond with a series of lights above the doors on the north side of the chamber, and at various locations on the Senate side of Capitol Hill.

At the beginning of each daily meeting, the presiding officer accompanies the Senate chaplain to the rostrum for an opening prayer. The Vice President of the United States serves as President of the Senate and therefore its presiding officer. In the Vice President's absence, the President pro tempore—generally, but not always, the most senior member of the majority party—presides, or will designate other senators from the majority party to take the chair. Senators must direct all remarks to the presiding officer, whom they address as “Mr. President,” or “Madam President.”

At the long marble desk in front of the presiding officer are the clerks of the Senate. The journal clerk records

minutes of the proceedings, as is required by the Constitution. The parliamentarian advises the presiding officer and members regarding Senate rules and procedures. The legislative clerk calls the roll and receives bills, resolutions, and amendments offered by members. At the two mahogany desks before these clerks are the staffs of the party secretaries and the Democratic Policy Committee and the Republican Scheduling Office, who keep members of their parties informed as to the subject matter at hand and tallies of votes cast. Senate pages stationed on both sides of the rostrum serve as messengers for senators. They are selected from among students who are in their junior year of high school. The pages attend early morning classes in a school located at the Library of Congress.

The Majority and Minority Leaders occupy the front desks on their respective sides of the center aisle, with the Republicans to the presiding officer's left and the Democrats to the right. The more senior members of each party have priority in seat selection and generally sit

toward the front and center of the chamber.

As a senator speaks, an official reporter of debates stands nearby, taking a verbatim account of everything said. Reporters work ten-minute shifts in the chamber and then immediately transcribe their notes. By the next morning, the entire day's proceedings, along with related materials, will be printed in the **Congressional Record**.

In 1986 the Senate began live radio and television coverage of its floor proceedings. The Senate's gavel-to-gavel proceedings are beamed by the nonprofit Cable Satellite Public Affairs Network (C-SPAN) to a satellite orbiting high above the equator. These signals are returned to cable television systems across the continent for distribution to viewers. Video tapes of Senate sessions are available to the public at the National Archives and the Library of Congress.

The Senate usually begins the day with ten-minute speeches by the Majority and Minority Leaders, followed by a period designated as "Morning Business." Members introduce bills and resolutions, which are referred to the various committees for consideration. Members may also request permission to speak briefly on any subject that concerns them. Following "Morning Business" the Senate may consider either executive or legislative business. During an executive session the Senate may consider any nomination and treaty that the president submits for the Senate's advice and consent. Nominations are confirmed by a simple majority, but the Constitution requires a two-thirds vote of the Senate to approve treaties. For much of the Senate's history, all executive sessions were conducted in secret, with the galleries cleared and the doors locked, enabling senators to speak freely about the character of nominees and to avoid causing any embarrassment to the nation's treaty partners. Not until 1929 were executive sessions routinely opened to the public and the press.

Legislative business consumes the largest share of the Senate's time. When committees report out legislation, the

Majority Leader will attempt to schedule it for debate in the chamber. If both parties have agreed to the bill, it may be enacted simply by "unanimous consent," with only a brief reading of its title and a request by the leadership that it be adopted without objection, generally by voice vote. If a single member objects, however, the Senate might not consider the bill at all, or may debate it at length and then take a roll call vote.

The Senate has long operated under the principle of "unlimited debate," that is, all members may speak for as long as they wish on the matter under consideration. To expedite matters, the leadership may request unanimous consent to establish a time limit on debate for a specific legislative measure. Extended debate designed to defeat or amend a bill by dilatory tactics is called a "filibuster." Those senators opposed to a filibuster may file a "cloture" motion, signed by at least sixteen senators, under which a vote of sixty senators can limit the remaining debate.

When a bill is being debated, the floor managers of the two parties will often take the front row, center aisle seats of the Majority and Minority Leaders. If a time limit has been established, they will allot portions of their times to senators wishing to speak for or against the bill. It is not unusual to find only a few members in the chamber at any given time during the debate, with other senators attending committee hearings or at work in their offices. Members' offices are equipped with "hot lines" and televisions that provide instant access to what is happening on the Senate floor. When the bells signal a vote, all members present enter the chamber and record their "ayes" and "noes."

Whenever the Senate is in session, the American flag flies above the chamber's roof. When the legislative load is especially heavy, or when a filibuster is under way, the Senate may hold sessions long into the night or around the clock. A lantern at the top of the Capitol dome is always lit during these night sessions. Whether at two in the morning or two in the afternoon, the public is always welcome to the galleries to witness the proceedings.



## SENATE ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE THE CHAMBER

Visitors to the Senate chamber often question why so few members may be on the Senate floor at any one time. The floor proceedings comprise only a fraction of a senator's average day. The daily schedule of a senator also includes consulting off the floor with fellow senators, administration officials, staff, constituents and other visitors; answering correspondence, and briefing the media. Generally, the largest share of a senator's time is devoted to committee work.

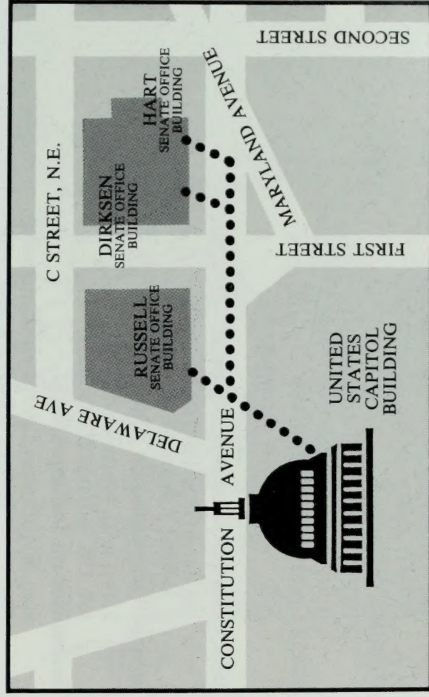
In the 105th Congress there are sixteen Senate standing committees, two select committees, one special committee, one other committee, and four joint committees with the House. On the average, each senator serves on three standing committees and at least one select, special, or joint committee. In addition, there are numerous subcommittees within each committee. This permits virtually every member of the majority party to serve as chair, and every member of the minority to serve as ranking (or senior) member, of a committee or subcommittee.

Under the rules of the Senate, each committee has specific jurisdiction over certain legislation. When legislation is introduced, or nominations are made, the presiding officer forwards the legislation or nomination to the proper committee. That committee, or one of its subcommittees, will schedule hearings and take testimony regarding the matter. At "mark-up" sessions, the committee may recommend amendments for the full Senate to consider when the bill is taken up on the floor. Many bills referred to committees are never reported out. In some cases, several bills of the same nature are consolidated; in other cases, the issue lacks sufficient support to be considered further.

Since far more legislation is shaped in committee than in floor debates, senators necessarily direct their attention toward their committee assignments. Although senators remain informed on the broad range of issues of importance to their states and the Nation, the committees they serve

on will generally determine the bills they sponsor and the issues to which they devote their greatest attention. Senators come to the Senate floor to speak on many matters about which they feel strongly, but they most frequently appear in floor debates relating to bills reported from their committees.

The daily schedule of committee meetings is published in the **Congressional Record** and in Washington newspapers. Most committee meetings are open to the public. Committee rooms are located in the Russell, Dirksen, and Hart Senate Office Buildings, connected to the Capitol by subways.



Senators' office suites are located in the Senate office buildings across the street from the Capitol grounds. Offices designated SR are in the Richard Brevard Russell building, named for the late Senator Russell of Georgia; those designated SD are in the Everett McKinley Dirksen building, named for the late Senator Dirksen of Illinois; and those designated SH are in the Philip A. Hart building, named for the late Senator Hart of Michigan. The buildings are connected to the Capitol by underground railway cars, located on the basement level.

## SENATE COMMITTEES

### **Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry**

Richard G. Lugar (Indiana)  
Tom Harkin (Iowa)

### **Appropriations**

Ted Stevens (Alaska)  
Robert C. Byrd (West Virginia)

### **Armed Services**

Strom Thurmond (South Carolina)  
Carl Levin (Michigan)

### **Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs**

Alfonse M. D'Amato (New York)  
Paul S. Sarbanes (Maryland)

### **Budget**

Pete V. Domenici (New Mexico)  
Frank R. Lautenberg (New Jersey)

### **Commerce, Science, and Transportation**

John McCain (Arizona)  
Ernest F. Hollings (South Carolina)

### **Energy and Natural Resources**

Frank H. Murkowski (Alaska)  
Dale Bumpers (Arkansas)

### **Environment and Public Works**

John H. Chafee (Rhode Island)  
Max Baucus (Montana)

### **Finance**

William V. Roth, Jr. (Delaware)  
Daniel Patrick Moynihan (New York)

### **Foreign Relations**

Jesse Helms (North Carolina)  
Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (Delaware)

### **Governmental Affairs**

Fred Thompson (Tennessee)  
John Glenn (Ohio)

### **Judiciary**

Orrin G. Hatch (Utah)  
Patrick J. Leahy (Vermont)

## Chairmen and Ranking Minority Members

### **Labor and Human Resources**

James M. Jeffords (Vermont)  
Edward M. Kennedy (Massachusetts)

### **Rules and Administration**

John Warner (Virginia)  
Wendell H. Ford (Kentucky)

### **Small Business**

Christopher S. Bond (Missouri)  
John F. Kerry (Massachusetts)

### **Veterans' Affairs**

Arlen Specter (Pennsylvania)  
John D. Rockefeller IV (West Virginia)

### **Select Committee on Ethics**

Bob Smith (New Hampshire)  
Harry Reid (Nevada)

### **Select Committee on Intelligence**

Richard C. Shelby (Alabama)  
J. Robert Kerrey (Nebraska)

### **Special Committee on Aging**

Charles E. Grassley (Iowa)  
John B. Breaux (Louisiana)

### **Committee on Indian Affairs**

Ben Nighthorse Campbell (Colorado)  
Daniel K. Inouye (Hawaii)

### **Joint Committee on the Library of Congress**

Ted Stevens (Alaska)—Vice Chair

### **Joint Committee on Printing**

John Warner (Virginia)—Chair

### **Joint Committee on Taxation**

William V. Roth, Jr. (Delaware)—Vice Chair

### **Joint Economic Committee**

Connie Mack (Florida)—Vice Chair

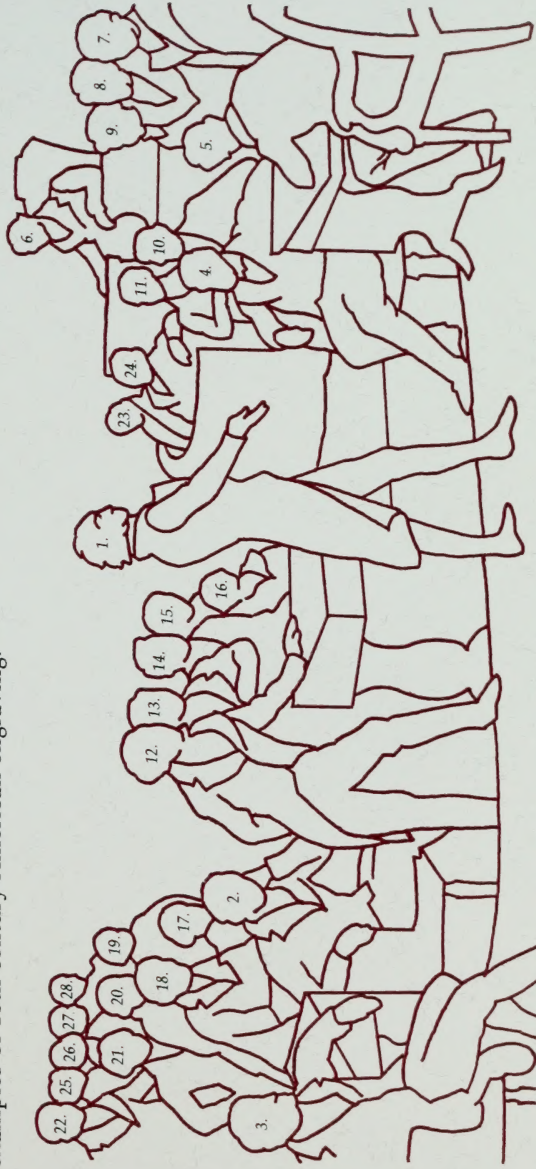


On the front cover:

*The United States Senate, A.D. 1850*: Senator Henry Clay addressing the Senate during the Compromise of 1850.

In a desperate attempt to keep civil war from erupting, the “Great Triumvirate” of Daniel Webster (MA), John C. Calhoun (SC) and Henry Clay (KY) struggled to balance the interests of the North, South and West. Here, Henry Clay, the “Great Compromiser,” engaged in his last significant advocacy as a senator, is introducing the Compromise of 1850, legislation designed to counteract the sectional disagreements arising over the issue of slavery. This image shows all three men, with Clay at center stage presenting the compromise to the Senate.

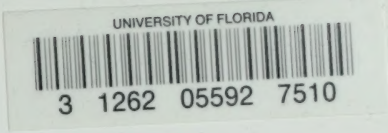
Peter H. Rothermel of Philadelphia, director of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, painted the original image, and Robert Whitechurch, also of Philadelphia, engraved Rothermel’s work onto the metal plate from which the prints were made. Rothermel’s and Whitechurch’s details are so clear and exacting that the print was used to aid in the restoration of the Old Senate Chamber in 1976. *The United States Senate, A.D. 1850* is recognized as one of the finest examples of 19th century American engraving.



1. Henry Clay, KY
2. Daniel Webster, MA
3. Thomas H. Benton, MO
4. Lewis Cass, MI
5. William H. Seward, NY
6. Millard Fillmore, NY<sup>1</sup>
7. William L. Dayton, NJ
8. William M. Gwin, CA
9. John C. Calhoun, SC
10. James A. Pearce, MD
11. Robert F. Stockton, NJ
12. Henry S. Foote, MS
13. Stephen A. Douglas, IL
14. Pierre Soule, LA
15. Truman Smith, CT
16. Salmon P. Chase, OH
17. William R. King, AL
18. John Bell, TN
19. James M. Mason, VA
20. James Cooper, PA
21. Willie P. Mangum, NC
22. Samuel Houston, TX
23. Robert Beale<sup>2</sup>
24. Ashbury Dickens<sup>2</sup>
25. Jeremiah Clemens, AL
26. Andrew P. Butler, SC
27. John Davis, MA
28. Henry Dodge, WI

<sup>1</sup> Vice President

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Beale and Mr. Dickens were Sergeant at Arms and Secretary of the Senate respectively.



FLARE



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Prepared under the direction of the  
Senate Committee on Rules and Administration  
John Warner, Chairman